

RECENT AGITATIONS IN ANDHRA PRADESH OVER MULKI RULES

As the recent language riot in Assam involving a heavy toll of death and injuries to many people is still petering out, it is matched by another ugly incident in Andhra Pradesh where the controversy over Mulki Rules between the people of Telengana and Andhra region has again taken a violent turn now.

As in the case of Assam, where the Central and State Congress Governments have not only utterly failed to resolve the problem and evolve a correct scientific language policy even in respect of medium of instruction at university and other levels which is currently agitating the minds of the Assamese people, but also mischievously planted the seeds of disunity and mistrust embittering relation between the different linguistic communities in Assam, often exploiting this unhealthy situation for organising riots, as witnessed now in Assam, along with the other reactionary forces—so also in a similar way, the controversy over the application of Mulki Rules which was raging over a long period among the two regional communities in Andhra Pradesh has been motivatedly left unresolved by the Congress Governments

Biplab Sen

and even when the recent Supreme Court judgement on this issue has created a deep stir among the people of Andhra and Telengana region the policies pursued since then by the Central Congress Government have, directly or indirectly, carried further this dispute to the present terrible stage. Far from resolving this dispute, the Central Congress Government in order to perpetuate this thorny issue is paying no attention to the basic problems of the people of Andhra Pradesh. The State Congress leaders of both the regions are actively participating in fomenting regional parochialism, helping the rabid reactionaries and divisive forces and thereby maintaining the present stalemate.

While those Congress members and Ministers elected from Telengana region are only speaking of the interest of Telengana and even raising slogan for a separate state of Telengana, the Congress members and Ministers from Andhra region are, in the guise of such seemingly unobjectionable demand like "equal opportunities should be accorded to the people of Andhra and Telengana region in the matter of securing job opportunities" actually infuriating the masses of Andhra region against Telengana people. Most curious part of it is that the same Congress leaders who are indulging in fomenting parochial sentiments and forcing the two communities to assume an irreconcilably hostile attitude to each other are seen least hesitant to shower bullets and wield stick to drown in blood the voice of demand of the dissident communities. So far it is gathered that in the recent successful bundhs in Telengana and Andhra region carried out on different dates on demand in favour of full implementation of Mulki Rules and against it respectively, no less than fourteen persons have already succumbed to death and several hundred people have been injured.

Obviously, it is pertinent to dilate a bit on Mulki Rules and controversies arising out of it. In the former princely State of Hyderabad, it was necessary in accordance with Hyderabad Civil Service Regulation that anybody, other than a 'Mulki' seeking service in superior or sub-ordinate government posts should secure specific sanction for it by the Nizam. The primary condition for anyone

(Contd. to page 2)

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
(Fortnightly)

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL. 6
No. 9

15 DECEMBER, '72
FRIDAY

PRICE 20 P.
Air Surcharge 4. P.

Toiling Peasantry Joining KKMF In Thousands In Different States

With harvesting on in full swing in West Bengal, the attacks on poor peasants and share croppers by the ruling Congress-Jotedar-Police clique has reached unprecedented dimensions.

Forcible eviction of poor peasants from their lands and licencees from vested land distributed to them; forcible harvesting and looting of their paddy by jotedars and their hirelings, the Congress gangsters and RG parties—with the active help of the police and the CRP posted in 'camps' to look after 'law and order'; the large-scale attacks and raids on poor peasants and peasant workers of SUC, KKMF and other Left parties and organisations; massive arrests and confinement of Left political workers and peasant organisers and institution of hundreds of false cases against them—all these are taking place on a much larger scale this year in West Bengal villages.

What is more, the monopoly-controlled Press in West Bengal—true to their tradition—are deliberately suppressing the news of all these dastardly attacks on poor, unarmed peasants by jotedars in connivance with the ruling party hoodlums and the local police and Administration. At the same time, they never fail to publicize the solemn (?) declaration of

the State Congress leaders that "Congress volunteers will stand by the side of the peasants during the harvesting", nor do they spare any pain to make the people believe, with such headlines as "Few harvesting clashes this year", that law and order is being perfectly maintained in the State by the ruling Congress Government.

The reality, however, presents a diametrically opposite picture. While the armed jotedars and their hirelings, the Youth Congress volunteers and the RG parties, are looting at random paddy from the fields of poor peasants and licencees of government vested lands and depriving share-croppers of their legitimate shares, the police and the CRP, deployed in village camps,—in many cases which turned out to be the local big jotedar's house—are arresting and detaining those very poor peasants, share croppers and landless licencees, so that they cannot offer any resistance while the jotedars plunder the fruits of their hard toil. Actually, in this novel

(Contd. to page 5)

Congress (R) Fanning up Parochial Outlook in Telengana and Andhra Region

(Contd. from page 1)

assuming the status of a 'Mulki' was that the person should be a permanent resident of Hyderabad State for a period of at least 15 years. Even after the merger of Hyderabad State since 1948 this practice remained in force and was given protection in the Indian Constitution under Article 35(B). Subsequently, even after the formation of the present State of Andhra Pradesh on a linguistic basis in 1956 the Mulki Rules were in vogue and retained its validity so far as employment in government services in the Telengana region was concerned. Later on, Parliament by an Act repealed Mulki Rules through section (2), though it retained some provisions of the Mulki Rules under section (3) which are operative in case of appointment to subordinate posts only in the Telengana region, and the requirement of 15 years' permanent residence in Telengana still continued only in this category of service. Whereas formerly the provisions of Mulki Rules covered all the posts, superior and subordinate, this Act intended to retain Mulki status in Telengana region only in case of appointment to subordinate posts, posts of tehsildars etc. This Act which was passed by Parliament in 1959 was originally intended to remain valid for the next 5-year period, but subsequently, this period was extended in two stages for 10 years more and would end on March, 1974.

When this Act was challenged in the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court in its judgement on 28th March, 1969, declared section (2) of this Act, namely Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act, 1957 as ultravires. But the connected issues of this Act and the Supreme Court Judgement, instead of being settled, spurred fresh agitation by the different communities of Andhra and

Telengana region and the matters were again brought before the Andhra Pradesh High Court and the Supreme Court. On 3rd October last, the Supreme Court gave its final judgement wherein, it stated in favour of compliance with the provisions of the Mulki Rules in matters pertaining to appointment in governmental posts in the Telengana region. Centring round this final judgement of the Supreme Court, whereas from Telengana region there are fresh demands for full implementation of the requirement for fifteen years permanent residence in Telengana in accordance with Mulki Rules, to be met in respect of all posts, superior or sub-ordinate, the people from Andhra region are counterposing this demand and emphasising that only those privileges which were previously enjoyed by Telengana residents as per the Act of Parliament should be continued. Although it was clearly stated in the Supreme Court Judgement that "this is a matter for Parliament and not for us. We are concerned only with their validity", still it cannot be denied that the policies pursued by the Central Government, its failure to indicate any scientific way of resolving this dispute, the Ruling Party's sole concern to pat the parochial sentiment of the local Congress leaders and anyhow maintain unity of the Congress at the state level which is showing increasing sign of complete breakdown, as evidenced now by some Andhra Ministers move of block resignation from Congress Ministry in Andhra Pradesh, all these have further worsened the situation and deepened the dispute over Mulki Rules which ultimately erupted in both the regions in an ominous way. The Prime Minister's latest formula for resolving the dispute announced on 27th

November last has completely failed to eliminate or minimise the controversy. Even her own party men have openly declared that this formula cannot be accepted and any attempt to implement this formula should be given full resistance.

In this connection we appeal to the people inhabiting both the regions of Andhra Pradesh who are oppressed under the existing capitalist rule to probe deeply into the root cause underlying all their basic problems, be it the problem of unemployment, education, security of service, gradual curtailment of their democratic rights or any other problem which is afflicting their life now and growing in intensity under Congress misrule on each passing day. It is due to the same basic reason which underlies the terrible problem of unemployment in other provinces of India, and has forced the citizens of an independent country, starting from agricultural labourers and poor and middle peasants in the rural areas to workers and middle class people in the urban centres living a despicable life under Congress rule to voice the demand for fulfilling their right to work, also runs through the alarming problem of growing unemployment among people in different parts in Andhra Pradesh. In the fall of the year 1971 the number of unemployed persons on live register in Andhra Pradesh stood at three times the number in 1961 and the number of registered educated unemployed persons alone, as on September this year, is 35 lakhs. In whatever way the present controversy regarding Mulki Rules may be amicably resolved it can be firmly said that it is impossible to eliminate the menacing problem of unemployment as long as the present exploiting capitalist system obtains in our country. For, to eliminate this problem

it is first of all necessary to introduce radical land reforms and assure uninterrupted industrial growth in our country which alone can ensure employment for every able-bodied person in a fruitful way. But it is wellnigh impossible to attain these prerequisites in our capitalist society. For, in a capitalist society like ours the motive force of production is not to fulfil the growing material need of the people but to obtain maximum profit for a handful of people which includes the monopolists, the jotedars and others belonging to the employer-class. It is due to the prevalence of the capitalist productive system with the motive of earning maximum profit as its principal driving force that, however small the progress may be in the industrial field, our economy is already laden with a deep crisis of over production. So, let alone speaking of establishing new industrial units, the industries already created are running much below its rated capacity. So, far from creating newer jobs for the unemployed persons through the creation of more industries on a wide scale, the persons who are already employed are being retrenched in large numbers. The net outcome of so many five-year plans launched in our country is, that on the one hand, the common people are becoming more and more poverty-stricken, the number of unemployed persons is growing at an alarming pace, there is steady downgrading of the living and working conditions of the toiling people who are eking out their existence in a desperate situation, and on the other hand, the monopolists, the jotedars, the bureaucrats and other vested people are unabatedly fattening themselves by fleecing the common people. Like unemployment, so also for all other problems of life, even including the problem of education, it is the present capitalist system

'Mulki Rules' Crisis Inseparably Linked up with the Crushing Problem of Unemployment Created by Capitalism

which is basically responsible for the existing intolerable situation confronting our people.

So the deepening controversy over Mulki Rules is actually linked up with the problem of unemployment. If the unemployment problem were not so intense as now then naturally the Mulki Rule tangle would not have assumed this dimension. And for this intensity of unemployment problem it is capitalist economy in our country which is basically responsible. When the fact is that everything in life almost depends on securing a job, and when there is practically no scope, in normal circumstances, to get one job due to the acute problem of unemployment which capitalism has engendered, then it is obvious that this legitimate hankering for job may even seek some distorted way for its fulfilment. It is due to this pinch of unemployment that the Telengana residents are found to be unwilling to part with limited privilege it used to enjoy under Mulki Rules. It is again this unemployment problem which has inspired the Andhra residents to launch an anti-Mulki Rule agitation. But here one must ponder whether it is at all possible to extend job opportunities on a wide scale without eliminating the root cause of unemployment. The Telengana people should think, has not the unemployment problem afflicted them with growing intensity even when they were enjoying the limited privileges prescribed under the Mulki Rules? So if these privileges continue to exist, will their legitimate hankering for job be satisfied? Besides, when under the present centralised economic system, people from one province have to run for jobs to the other provinces, how many of the Telengana residents can get the benefit of a limited privilege prescribed over a small pocket of the

entire economic system? Most of the people will remain unemployed despite this privilege. So, can there be any mitigation of this problem without abolishing capitalism in our country? Far from resolving this problem of unemployment or lessening its intensity, is not this limited privilege only accentuating conflict with other groups of unemployed people? Do they not observe that in order to frustrate the united struggle of the oppressed people against social injustices, their legitimate movement for securing employment is being mischievously canalised into parochial paths by the regional bourgeoisie? One should notice that it is the same capitalist class and its representative, the ruling Congress, which has aggravated this problem of unemployment born out of capitalist economy, that is also providing the leadership to the conflicting agitations in Telengana and Andhra region. What then is their motive in these agitations? Certainly not to remove the problem of unemployment, for in that case, the ruling Congress would have stood against capitalism, the source of unemployment. The ruling party, representing the capitalist class, is on the one hand strengthening capitalism, and on the other, fanning up parochial sentiment among the exploited masses in order to destroy their unity and obscure all-India perspective and the root evil of our central economic system, the capitalism, to the view of the toiling people. Will the common people inhabiting Telengana and Andhra region allow themselves to be ensnared into this trap laid by the Congress (R), indulge in fratricidal strife and perpetuate this crisis or will they rise in bold united resistance against these conspiracies hatched by the Congress in the interest of

the bourgeoisie?

In this connection we would like to refer to an article published in **Ganadabi**, Bengali Organ of the SUCI, in its issue dated **19th September, 1960**, wherein it was stated that, "Just any sort of united movement of the people is not supportable. It is only that movement which needs be supported that builds up fighting unity among the exploited masses, strengthens and consolidates this unity and by developing political consciousness among the people transforms them into valiant fighters against the capitalist rule and its exploitation. The struggle which instead of fulfilling this object, disrupts the unity of the exploited people, pervades the minds of the masses by narrow provincial, communal or reactionary bourgeois outlook and thereby drives them to the camp of the reactionary parties and forces, cannot be given any support even if large numbers of people join in this struggle. A struggle is not judged as one to be supported or condemned, as democratic or reactionary just by the fact whether the people are participating in it or not, but by the object and ultimate aim of the struggle. There are numerous incidents where the reactionary forces by taking advantage of the low level of political consciousness and ignorance of the masses have goaded the people into anti-people, reactionary struggles. There are many instances of it not merely in the history of the world but in the history of our country as well".

So the people inhabiting both the regions of Andhra Pradesh, in order to free themselves from the prevailing suffocating atmosphere should realise the inevitable necessity of fulfilling the task of anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country.

As, only through fulfilling this task of socialist revolution, the door of uninterrupted social progress can be opened and all forms of exploitation of man by man, economic, political, social and cultural can be abolished for eternity. But the first essential task for achieving this end is to establish a steel-like unity among all the oppressed people in our country on the basis of a correct revolutionary ideology and to spare no effort in defending this unity from all sorts of narrow parochialism, whether religious, provincial, regional or otherwise, for the necessity of carrying forward the legitimate democratic struggles and revolutionary preparation in our country. Simultaneously along with it, the people of Andhra Pradesh must remain vigilant about the conspiracy of those political parties which are motivatedly complicating the issues relating to the Mulki Rules out of a narrow political interest. These parties prefer to view these issues only to win place in parliamentary politics and with this end in view are even creating a feeling of animosity among the two regional communities.

The recent happenings in Assam and Andhra Pradesh once again reveal clearly that the reactionary Congress Governments at the Centre and in the different States, in order to protect the interest of the ruling capitalist class completely overlook the legitimate democratic demands of our people speaking different languages and inhabiting different parts of the country. With this nefarious design the ruling party plants the seeds of disunity among the oppressed people and even does not hesitate to engineer riots in various forms along with other reactionary forces in different regions as exigency. On the one hand, we observe, that the Central Congress leaders are professing pious wishes for maintaining peace

(Contd. to page 6)

Police Atrocities Galore in Educational Institutions

For the last few months the academic community has again been the victim of worst sort of police atrocities. The accumulated grievances of both the students and teaching communities have found expressions before and even now.

The ruling Congress Party has utterly failed to overhaul the old, now rotten, educational system which was handed down to it by the imperialist rulers, within this long period of 25 years since independence. The recent incidents of police brutalities on the students and teachers in Patna, Delhi, Punjab and Haryana have proved once more that the ruling party is bent upon stilling the voice of any democratic demand in the academic world.

Now, we trace back the series of incidents that took place recently in different states where the police inflicted unforeseen brutalities on students and teachers with an alleged motive to bring back normalcy in the academic institutions.

Patna. On September 5, Teachers' Day, both the teachers and students separately demonstrated in front of the Assembly building. When the student leaders were just having a dialogue with the authorities, the police lathicharged the students, fired nearly 100 teargas shells and chased them away. What were the demands of the students? The students had demanded cessation of government control over the universities, withdrawal of police from the Patna University Campus and withdrawal of the rustication order against four Patna Law College students. Incidentally, the Government has superseded the Senate and Syndicate and the Examination Council and has appointed an all-powerful Vice-Chancellor.

September 6th witnessed a pitched battle between the Police and the students. On that day, the Deputy Inspector General of Police, the S.D.O., the Senior S.P., ADM and some other high officials gathered in the room of the Vice-Chancellor to prepare

and conduct a battle strategy against the university students!

According to Dr. P. Dayal, Principal of Patna College, eight to ten police constables entered his room and beat up everyone in the office, including him, the Principal of the College. Then, the police men went round the campus, beating up anybody they could lay their lathis on! Students, teachers, office clerks all were in the list of the injured. The 'guardians of law' (!) did not stop there. Ambulance car called for removing the injured were prevented from entering into the college campus. According to the statement of Dr. Dayal, the Principal, to the reporter of *Times Weekly*, "we however managed to send the injured persons to hospital from the river bank side".

The next victims of government repression in Bihar's academic world were the secondary school teachers. The teachers agitating for some democratic demands had offered *Satyagraha* on September 8 in front of the Assembly. Police vans brought nearly 500 teachers-Satyagrahis to Bankipur jail but as no arrest orders were issued, the teachers were released. But, the teachers wanted solution of their demands. They resorted to 'Dharna' in the jail compound. Police lathicharged the teachers and as a result 50 teachers had to be removed with head injuries to hospital.

Again, from 5th of this month, university teachers, teachers of 200 private colleges and 7,000 non-teaching staff have been in a joint struggle. The teachers of constituent colleges of the universities demand D.A. at government rate and an integrated pay scale; the

teachers of affiliated colleges have, as their demands, conversion of affiliated colleges into constituent units of the universities, payment of salaries according to U.G.C. Scale; the non-teaching staff demand Scales of Pay equivalent to Government Secretariat employees. Besides, reforms in examination system and democratisation of administrative bodies are common demands for all. Here also, the government led by the Ruling Congress takes a tough attitude to suppress this just movement. The reason for this is not far to seek. The *Times Weekly* (November 5, '72) reporter aptly gives it: "Education is the most lucrative racket in Bihar. The majority of schools and colleges are run by businessmen who are generous contributors to ruling Party's coffers. One minister is said to be the director of more than 12 schools. The grants given to the schools from the public exchequer, are appropriated by their owners. One can get an idea of the extent of racketeering in colleges by the fact that one private college demands Rs. 16,000 as donation from each student for admission."

The same story is with the teachers of Punjab and Haryana and even under Delhi University.

The teachers of these states have been demanding on some legitimate issues. Seeing no redress coming to them they had to choose the path of strike. In the Lok Sabha debate of 5th December, the Education Minister, Mr. Nurul Hassan indulged in sermonising on the teachers' duty but did not commit the government to the task of taking steps for the lifting of closure of Colleges in these two states. The college authorities had already closed the colleges and as a result one lakh students in Punjab and 60,000 students in Haryana stand to suffer. In Haryana, 200 teachers including the President of the

Teachers Association have been put under arrest. A complete chaos, therefore, reigns over academic world in these States now. The Education Minister or for that matter, the Central Ministry led by Sm. Indira Gandhi feels no responsibility for ensuring uninterrupted academic life of the students, a minimum democratic atmosphere and service conditions for the teaching community, far less democratisation of the entire educational system. Before this phase of teachers' struggle, Punjab saw police brutalities on the students that pales to insignificance the atrocities committed by the alien rulers. Even military was called to parade in the streets. In the Delhi University incident of 6th December police were called to give a good thrashing to the students. The students and teachers under this university who number 97,000 and 3,512 respectively have been agitating for democratic reforms. The Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University has dubbed the institution as a 'sinking ship', 'a kind of slum.' The same Vice-Chancellor called police inside the university campus. The police did their 'job' well, even overdid. A photo picture in *Hindusthan Times* shows that even the attending Magistrate's 'enough-enough' cries could not stop lathi-charging policemen. Yet, in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Nurul Hassan, at one time a teacher, now the Education Minister found only the words for justification for the police and the university authorities! Four student leaders have been rusticated by the university before. This is a sequel to the students' agitation for regularity in holding classes in the Delhi Engineering College where classes were not being held for the last three months. The students have been charged with violent activities but it is also to be noted that students could not attract the attention of the

(Contd. to page 8)

Agricultural Labourers, Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants Must Unite to Frustrate Growing Attack by the Vested Class

(Contd. from page 1)

way, the Police and Administration have been able to "minimise the number of harvesting clashes" and have been able to "maintain law and order" in West Bengal.

The move to evict poor peasants and licenced agricultural labourers was initiated long before the harvesting started. The ruling Congress put up the so-called Land Reform Committees for this purpose in different anchals and districts with their local men and notorious jotedars and evicted hundreds of poor peasants and licencees from the recovered benam lands and vested lands. The lands thus illegally and forcibly seized were returned to their original benam-holders. Where these measures have failed, they have resorted to nakedly using the Administration and the police machinery to achieve their end. Thousands of peasant workers belonging to the SUC, the KKMf and other Left parties and organisations have been arrested. Hundreds of false cases have been instituted against Left political workers and peasant organisers by the police at the instance of the Congressite jotedars and lastly, these jotedars, with the active help of the police, the CRP, the RG parties and local armed Youth Congress gangsters, have resorted to forcible harvesting and looting of paddy from poor peasants, fields. Hundreds of such instances of forcible eviction and forcible harvesting and looting of poor peasants' paddy are regularly being published in **Ganadabi**, the Bengali organ of the SUCI, and some other Leftist newspapers. We refrain from citing these incidents as they would occupy enough space to fill in all the pages of even a 64-page newspaper. We would, therefore, confine ourselves to a mere summary account of the

miseries of the poor peasants in West Bengal.

During the past several months, the recurrence of drought and flood have left the poor peasants completely pauperised. Even after 25 years of independence no effective measures have been implemented in West Bengal to protect the peasants from these natural calamities. This year also, different districts in West Bengal, especially Maldá, Dinajpur, Purulia, Bankura, Birbhum, Murshidabad, Midnapore and 24 Parganas, have fallen victim to either drought or floods. Crores of rupees have been squandered in the name of relief, fattening the village touts, the local Congress bosses and the bureaucrats, while the poor peasants have been rotting under the impact of devastating calamities.

The ever-soaring prices of all essential commodities have further added to the miseries of the poor village folks. Over and above this, hoarding, blackmarketing and corruption in malignant form have further aggravated the situation.

The crisis has been accentuated with the massive forcible eviction of poor peasants and licencees of vested land whose number have already swelled to 75,000 to 80,000 at the least. With more than 50 lakhs waiting in the queue for jobs, these 80,000 evicted peasants, with their families, have no other alternative but to turn street beggars.

Turning to lower middle peasants, with 3 to 7½ acres of land, their condition too has been worsened by the new land revenue measures, introduced by the so-called "Progressive" and "Democratic" Congress Government. While during the United Front regime (under Act 33 of 1969) the poor peasants—holding up to 3 acres of land—for the first time in their life enjoyed exemption

from land revenue and the tax-rates in case of lower-middle peasants—holding 3 to 7 acres—were retained at the previous level, but was raised in case of big peasants owning 7 acres upward by 2, 3 and 4 times, the present ruling Congress Government has raised the tax-rate for lower-middle peasants by 2 to 3 times while reducing the rates for the big jotedars by half or three-fourths of the rates fixed by the UF Government. Thus, by lowering tax rates for big land-holder and doubling those for lower-middle peasants the ruling Congress Party has once again manifested its real character.

Along with these oppressions in the economic field an unprecedented terror has been let loose by the police, CRP and Congress gangsters not a single case of which has ever found a place in the monopoly-controlled newspapers who are deliberately suppressing all these news of attacks and onslaughts on poor peasants organised under the West Bengal Krishak and Khet Majdoor Federation and other Left peasant organisations with the sole motive to make people in and outside the State to believe that the ruling Congress Government has "restored peace and tranquillity in West Bengal".

Thousands of workers and organisers of Left political parties and mass organisations are still rotting behind the bars. Hundreds of false cases have been instituted against peasant workers and party organisers in villages in different districts of West Bengal, unlawfully confining them in police custody while armed jotedars with the help of police, RG Party and Youth Congress gangsters are looting the paddy from their unprotected fields.

This is what is going on in the name of "Peaceful harvesting in West Bengal this year." This is how the

"Congress volunteers are taking the side of the poor peasants during the harvesting". That such an all-out attack would come upon the poor-peasants and share-croppers during the harvesting season was not unexpected. Viewing this long before, the West Bengal Krishak and Khet Majdoor Federation (KKMF)—the peasant wing of the SUC—with its long, glorious tradition of militant, organised struggle—gave a clarion call in October last, to the poor-peasants, share-croppers, the agricultural labourers and the lower-middle peasants to organise themselves under the banner of the KKMf to resist the on-coming onslaught by the Jotedar-Congress-Police combine. The KKMf held thousands of peasants meeting in villages, Anchals throughout the State during the month of November. Hundreds of thousands of peasants responded to this call of the KKMf and made all these meetings successful by their massive participation. The call for membership campaign given by the KKMf in all these thousands of peasant meetings met unexpected response from all sections of the poor peasants.

The peasants of West Bengal, true to their fighting tradition, are joining the campaign in thousands. In 24 Parganas, Birbhum, Murshidabad and Purulia districts the KKMf ranks have already swelled several folds with poor-peasants, share-croppers, agricultural labourers and lower-middle peasants joining in thousands in their determination to strengthen the KKMf—their only instrument of struggle against oppression.

In Bihar, U P, Haryana, Assam, Orissa and Kerala also the KKMf has launched its membership campaign to unite all sections of the oppressed peasantry under its banner in order to pave the

(Contd. to page 8)

Fight Regional Parochialism, Shun Reactionary Parties and Build up Militant Unity Among Oppressed People

(Contd. from page 3)

and solidarity of the people, (in the face of the fact that they denied the most democratic demand of a public probe into the recently committed ghastly incidents in Assam which would have definitely uncovered the black hand of the Congress bosses at various levels who engineered these riots. As a matter of fact the "Chhatra Sangram Parishad" in Assam, an anonymous organisation of students and youths led by the Congress(R) played a pivotal role in launching an orgy of violence and destruction of life and property in Assam. This conduct of the ruling party's blessed student and youth organisations has a similar pattern in all the States. In West Bengal too, there is unabated violence committed daily under the very nose of Congress administration by its student and youth organisations on innocent people and democratic opposition forces. The West Bengal Chhatra Parishad's (a Congress-led student organisation) sham show of publicly denouncing through Press statements and strike, what their counterparts did in Assam is just an eyewash to fool the people)—and on the other hand, the different groups led by them are hatching conspiracy in league with the other reactionary forces to sustain the disputes, preach chauvinistic outlook and trap the common people in their vicious game by making full use of the people's growing distress. So we witness that despite the Prime Minister, Sm. Indira Gandhi's fake solicitude for keeping the territorial integrity of Andhra Pradesh, she is betraying her sole concern to find out some compromise formula which can patch up the quarrel among the warring groups of Congress (R) in Andhra Pradesh and no attempt is being made whatsoever, to maintain the unity

and solidarity of the residents in Telengana and Andhra region and find out actual remedies for the multiplicity of problems afflicting them.

Although it is expected that as an All India Party, the ruling Congress should reflect one uniform outlook on all issues confronting our life, still we very often find that the Congress speaks in different voices in various circumstances to whip up narrow parochial sentiment to divide the people. The behaviour of Congress-controlled students in Assam who fanned up fanatic sentiment against the Bengalees stands in contrast with the public display of Congress-dominated students in West Bengal who are echoing Bengali sentiment in West Bengal. The behaviour of Congress leaders in Telengana fanning up Telengana sentiment excels in its mischievous intention only by the behaviour of Congress leaders in Andhra region who are similarly patting parochial sentiment of some Andhra residents. This lack of uniform approach and identical policies in Congress (R) can only be explained by its heinous motive to resist by all means any united popular upsurge against the mounting offensive of the ruling capitalist class on the toiling people. But astonishingly, the behaviour of some left parties in this regard cannot but be reproachable. The CPI and RSP's stand in favour of separation of Cachar district from Assam aims at utilising the narrow Bengali sentiment in Cachar much to the detriment of the urgent need of unity of the Assamese people. The conduct of the CPM is also no better as seen on many earlier occasions (for instance, its move for the formation of a separate Malappuram district to woo the Muslim masses in Kerala in its favour). Besides, the CPM leader Mr. Sundarayya's

proposal relating to the Mulki Rule crisis in Andhra Pradesh for a 2:1 ratio of jobs to be distributed among the residents in Andhra region and Telengana does not even touch the fringe of the problems the Andhra Pradesh people are suffering from. In our opinion it has failed to go deep into the basic problems of the toiling people in Andhra Pradesh and in other states as well. The peculiar feature of nationality and regional complex which has given rise to the present dispute cannot be eliminated by any such formula coming from whatever quarter it may be. It is due to the failure of our nationalist movement led by the Indian bourgeoisie that the nationality and regional complex still remains to spread its pernicious influence in our body politic. As taught by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the leader and teacher of the SUCI and an outstanding Marxist thinker of this age "the Indian bourgeoisie could not and did not carry out the task of social and cultural revolutions essential for the democratisation of the society and complete merger of different communities professing different religion into a nation. ** Had the leadership of this national movement in our country been in the hands of the working class it would have been possible to not only eliminate imperialism completely but also take the country along the non-capitalist path of development and solve the national, communal, racial, regional, questions once for all." As a result, though India emerged politically as a nation through the anti-British imperialist nationalist movement, but culturally and socially, the Indian people remained divided on the basis of caste, race, religion, language etc. It is only the SUCI which from the very outset, has laid great stress for launching a mighty social and

cultural movement to get rid of these evils and achieve real integration of the people. Our Party also exhorted the other left parties to undertake this campaign as part of the democratic struggle. Only through this cultural movement the people can be rid of regional and nationality-complex to a large extent and can refuse to play second fiddle to the interest of the ruling class which perpetuates these evils and often induces fanatic outbursts to destroy the unity of the working people. No good can be served to the people of Telengana and Andhra region unless the regional-complex which still wields a tremendous influence among the people is sought to be fought out culturally and the people's democratic initiative fully released to battle against the nefarious designs of the ruling class. Side by side, it is capitalist exploitation which has to be stopped once for all by virtue of people's growing revolutionary consciousness and preparation in our country and the revolutionary movement to be sufficiently strong enough to overthrow the capitalist rule for the real upliftment of the people of Andhra Pradesh along with the toiling masses in the rest of the country. But in Mr. Sundarayya's formula, one cannot see any attempt to get rid of the regional complex by cultural movements and resist a section of common people from being embroiled in parochial outbursts which indicate a sign of weakness of our democratic struggle. Rather it caters to the need of the capitalist class which shields the bourgeois character of exploitation of various forms from the people. No formula can secure jobs to every able-bodied person in Andhra Pradesh unless capitalism is overthrown in our country.

The people of Telengana and Andhra region must beware of the conspiracies of the ruling Congress governments and must strive to

(Contd. to page 7)

Assam**Massive Peasant Demonstration in Lakshmipur****Organised by SUC and KKMf**

(By a Staff Reporter)

On 27th November last a big procession of peasants and agricultural labourers of over five thousand strong, organised jointly by Goalpara District Committee of the S.U.C.I and Krishak and Khet Majdoor Federation, Lakshmipur Thana Committee waded through different streets of Lakshmipur town chanting slogans on demands to fulfil the interest of the peasantry.

Under the leadership of the S. U. C. I. and K.K.M.F. the peasants in the locality were agitating for some time on demands for declaring the names of occupiers within two months for all registered land within Lakshmipur circle, giving permanent tenancy rights to the poor peasants living permanently on the reserve land; for immediate rehabilitation of those peasants whose lands have been swallowed by rivers in vested and *benam* land; and also for settling the landless peasants and agricultural labourers in the vested land. It should be mentioned herewith that the local Congress leaders and some anti-socials backed by them were engaged in foiling this legitimate struggle of the peasantry by carrying on mischievous propaganda against the present movement and programme of mass rally on 27th November and even by terrorising the peasants in every village. But braving all these odds created by the Congressites and the anti-socials, thousands of poor

peasants and agricultural labourers rallied under the banner of the S.U.C.I and K.K.M.F.

A deputation led by Com. Dewan Jainal Abedin, Secretary Goalpara District Committee of the S.U.C.I., Com. Nazmul Huq, Com. Abdul Hakim, Com. Harul Huq Khandkar and others handed over a memorandum to the Sub-Deputy Collector. The Sub-Deputy Collector assured the deputationists in front of the rally that he would expedite in fulfilling these demands.

Com. Sahabuddin Ahmed, Com. Harul Huq Khandkar, Com. Abdul Hakim, Com. Kantimoy Deb, Com. Khagendra Nath and Com. Abdul Kasem addressed in the meeting. Earlier, at a meeting held in front of the office of the Sub-Deputy Collector before the deputation started Com. Nazmul Huq, a renowned peasant leader in the district and Secretary, K.K.M.F. Thana Committee explained the various demands listed in the memorandum.

DSO Convention in Calcutta

(By a Staff Reporter)

Calcutta, Dec. 8 :

In the background of the recent language riot in Assam a student convention was held here today at Muslim Institute Hall organised by the Calcutta District Committee of All India Democratic Students Organisation for the adoption of a scientific language policy in Assam.

Student representatives of schools and colleges in Calcutta and its surrounding areas attended this convention. Com. Chhaya Mukherjee,

the Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of D.S.O. had presided over this convention.

The main resolution on

MASS MEETING HELD AT JHARBEDA, ORISSA

(By a Staff Reporter)

Rajgangpur Dec. 2—A big mass meeting was held today at Jharbeda village, some 25 k. m. away from Rajgangpur organised under the auspices of Rajgangpur branch of SUCI. The meeting was presided over by Com. Augustine Ekka. Large number of peasants, students and mineworkers from the neighbouring locality attended this meeting.

Com. S K. Quasim, the main speaker, in his address demanded that in the matter of recruitment to various jobs in HSL Rourkela the first preference should be given to those persons who were displaced by the HSL. Com. Quasim regretted that though the Government of Orissa agreed to this scheme of preferential treatment for

the displaced persons this is still to be executed by the management of HSL Rourkela. He exhorted the audience to unite under the banner of SUCI and wage struggle against this unjustified treatment of HSL management. He also appealed for intervention by the Central and State Governments in this regard. Com. Quasim also strongly criticised in his speech the unfair labour policy pursued by the management of Jaideya Limestone Dolomite Mines and urged for extension of all facilities to the workers as they are entitled to enjoy as per the Industrial Mines Rules and Act. Among others who addressed the meeting were Com. M. K. Bhagat and Com. Abdia Tapoo.

RECENT AGITATION IN ANDHRA PRADESH

(Contd. from page 6)

maintain unbreakable unity amongst them along with the broad toiling masses in other states in order to develop a mighty democratic struggle on various legitimate issues and realise their cherished goal of emancipation from capitalist exploitation. With this end in view the people of Andhra Pradesh should come forward to resolve the present dispute over Mulki Rules in a democratic way and shun the company of the reactionary and divisive forces which tend to capitalise on this crisis.

the language problem in Assam was moved by Com. Rabin Samajpati and seconded by Com. Chandi Bhattacharyya.

Com. Asutosh Banerjee, a distinguished political leader and the main speaker in the convention in his address had said that the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the State of Assam had not only failed to indicate the correct solution of the problem of medium of education in Assam but also were perpetuating this problem and even directly or indirectly had involved them in provoking this recent riot. Com. Banerjee pinpointed the necessity for resolving this issue by maintaining the unity of the people in Assam and providing full scope to the linguistic minority to prosecute studies in their own mother tongue. Com. Banerjee also was strongly critical about the recent appeal in Calcutta made by the Chief Minister of Assam and West Bengal exhorting the students of the linguistic minority who were driven out of Assam to return there and continue their study, without however making no arrangement for their security in a situation which is still abnormal in Assam.

Historic Rally Held in Calcutta Against Unemployment

On 26th November last, hundreds of thousands of people thronged the Saheed Minar Maidan to press for the solution of the mounting unemployment problem in the country. The people of all walks of life defied the threats and intimidation of the police and administration to make this historic rally a success.

Twenty six organisations of peasants, youths, students etc. including five central trade union organisations were the sponsors of this huge gathering. Rallies of peasants, workers, students, youths, etc. led by different leftist organisations converged to the Saheed Minar Maidan throughout the day. Com Subodh Banerji, the leader of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) presided over the meeting.

In his presidential address Com. Banerji presented a graphic picture of the alarming unemployment problem of the country and strongly condemned the sinister attempt of the ruling Congress to befool the youth through false promises. He cautioned that the youth could not be misled forever by such falsity and the people were gradually realising the hoax of the Congress Government. He referred to the Indian constitution in which right of the employer to retrench workers had been conceded. He reminded that the unemployment problem, in a capitalist country, could not be fully solved and cited the examples of America and Japan where eleven percent and seventeen percent respectively of the total labour power were unemployed whereas in socialist countries like China and the USSR, there was no unemployment. Com. Banerji said that for permanent solution of the unemployment problem, people must strengthen the anti-capitalist revolutionary movement within the country and at the same time create pressure on the Government through movement for solution of the unemployment problem or payment of unemployment allowance.

Com. Asutosh Banerji, another leader of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) addressed the gathering and laid bare the real character of the Congress Government through a critical analysis of this problem.

Com. Banerji showed that the Congress had been pursuing anti-people policies on the one hand and on the other offering false promises to the youth to get their support behind the party. He pointed out that Sm. Indira Gandhi was attempting to hoodwink the people by raising so-called radical slogans; but the real aim of Sm. Gandhi was to isolate the leftist forces from the masses by taking advantage of the emotional attachment of the people to socialism and to serve the aggregate interest of the monopoly capitalism under such radical cloak. He wondered how the CPI which claimed itself to be a leftist party could support this Congress and term it as progressive. The CPI was, thereby, damaging the cause of leftism by helping in strengthening a fascist force. He also mentioned of a similar confusion in another big left party which stated that if Sm. Gandhi implemented the promises of the last election she would be known as socialist!

The unanimously accepted resolution in meeting stated :-
1. This movement against unemployment and for payment of unemployment allowance will be broad-based through a state conference on February next. Prior to the state conference, conferences in different districts will be organised.

2. After the state conference, protest rallies and mass squatting will be organised

SUC Condemns Govt. Move to Cut Ration Quota

Com. Nihar Mukerjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI has in a statement, issued to the Press, expressed grave concern at the Government move to cut the present inadequate ration quantum even further, as has been hinted at by the State Food Minister the other day.

"Before the last general election the Prime Minister and other Congress leaders made tall pledges that West Bengal would receive all help from the Centre for its economic recovery and industrial reconstruction if only the people returned the Congress to power. They also gloated much over the so-called "Green Revolution" which was supposed to put an end to the crisis in the food front once for all.

"The people of West Bengal have their bitterest of experiences during all these post-election months of how Mrs. Gandhi and her

Congress party, through their callous indifference towards the basic needs of the people and their abject subservience to the vested interest, have gone back on their election pledges one by one in every sphere including the food front which has brought the entire rationing system on the verge of a total collapse.

"We call upon the people of West Bengal to register their strong protest against any move to reduce the ration quantum and demand of the Centre to immediately fulfil its pledge by rushing adequate supply of food to the State."

Campaign of K.K.M.F.

(Contd. from page 5)

way for building up a broad-based, massive, united movement of the peasants on an all-national scale—which, and only which, can lead the poor masses of peasantry towards final struggle for their emancipation from their present abject, sub human state of existence. Their struggle for radical land reform, their struggle to realise their just demand for work throughout the year, their struggle to resist the onslaught by the jotedars and other vested class, their struggle against eviction from land, their struggle to protect

in Calcutta and different districts and a list will be prepared to mobilise the unemployed in protracted struggle and the people of all walks of life will be mobilised in the movement.

Among others who addressed the gathering were C.I.T.U. leaders Sri Jyoti Basu, Sri Hare Krishna Konar, U.T.U.C (Bowbazar) leader Sri Jatin Chakraborty, H. M. P. leader Sri Satin Roy Choudhury, and T. U. C. C. leader, Sri Kanaai Bhattacharyya.

the fruits of their hard toil, from the hands of the plunderers—all these struggles are part and parcel of and preparatory to the final struggle to overthrow the capitalist exploitative system.

To realise this noble objective of the struggling peasantry all sections of the oppressed peasantry must come out in thousands to enrol themselves with the Krishak and Khet Majdoor Federation, strengthen the KKMFF with all possible help and march towards the path of final victory.

Police Atrocities Galore

(Contd. from page 4)

university authorities till they made a token seige of the V. C.'s chamber. The response was quick and the response came through the lathis of policemen!

So, to sum up, the whole experiences of different movements of the students and teachers in all these states are for democratic demands and reforms of educational system which not only rots but stinks. It requires a thorough overhauling. This, the ruling party has not merely failed to do within 25 years but is actually obstructing by brutal repressions.